

RAMIZ ALIA

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**DEMOCRATIZATION  
OF SOCIO-ECONOMIC LIFE  
STRENGTHENS THE THINKING  
AND ACTION OF THE PEOPLE**

*Speech at the 10th Plenum of the CC of the PLA*

**(April 17, 1990)**

THE INSTITUTE OF  
COMMUNICATIONS  
PUBLISHING HOUSE  
TIRANA 1990

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1990

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«8 NËNTORI» PUBLISHING HOUSE  
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Comrades,

During the three months since the 9th Plenum, the country has experienced a new phase of revolutionary upsurge. **The people welcomed the decisions of that Plenum and were inspired to actions aimed at the ceaseless improvement of our society.** The role of the masses has been strengthened, and the consciousness of their political responsibility has been enhanced.

From the reports which the Central Committee has received, it turns out that during this time the Party, the organs of the State and the economy have been in greater activity. The participation of the masses in all social activities has been more effective. The social debate for the correct solution of problems has been further enlivened.

During these 2-3 months, in the application of the decisions of the 9th Ple-



num, the appointment or reappointment of many cadres has been carried out. Some of them were reconfirmed in their position, while others have been replaced by younger, more capable comrades. In Tirana alone, 266 directors, chiefs and other functionaries have been changed. I desire to inform the comrades that, by making these changes, the decisions of the 8th Plenum of the Central Committee about the establishment of a fairer numerical relationship between functionaries who are party members and those who are not party members in the state organs are being applied better. Thus, for example, in the apparatuses of the central departments and institutions, the communists make up only 33 per cent of the total number of employees and functionaries, while 67 per cent of them are not party members. Of the total number of cadres and engineering-technical staff who run the economy and culture in the combines, plants, factories, state farms and agricultural cooperatives in the Tirana district about 17.5 per cent are party members, while about 82.5 per cent are not.

As we had foreseen, the development of the line of the masses has been associated

with a narrowing of the terrain for bureaucracy. The links of the Party and State organs with the working masses are being further strengthened. Criticism and self-criticism are being made more courageously. The working masses have displayed culture, maturity and balance in the solving of problems and the taking of decisions. This is a great encouragement for the Party to proceed consistently on this course. **The ability of the masses to use the democratic means, laws and institutions to serve the socialist progress expresses the correctness of the decisions. Whereas the misuse of these means, laws and institutions would have made us reflect.**

The 9th Plenum clearly reflected the militant and anti-bureaucratic spirit of our Party. The holding of open meetings of the basic organizations with the free participation of the members of the collectives has placed the activity of the basic organizations and all communists under the direct control of the masses, has enhanced the creative role of the working people in working out the plans and directives for development, and has strengthened the unity of the people with the Party.

While affirming these encouraging



steps, we must be aware that we still have much to do in this field. The struggle for the democratization of the life of the country is an historical process which must accompany socialism step by step. In fact the current measures constitute a second cycle, a new phase, of the historical period which began on the eve of the 1970s with the well-known speeches of Comrade Enver Hoxha and the decisions which the Party took at that time for the all-round revolutionization of its life and the whole country.

Our Party will advance resolutely on the course which it has set itself. The decisions which we took at the 9th Plenum and which we are developing and making more concrete at today's meeting respond to the interests of the people and the Homeland. We aim to enhance the role of the masses so that the workers, peasants, intelligentsia and the youth, the people themselves are the true masters of the country and exercise their power and sovereignty in the economy, in culture, in defence, and in everything. We aim to revolutionize the life of the country and the Party through strengthening socialist democracy so that the whole economy is developed, the interest of the working people in every field of social

activity is increased, and the living conditions are ceaselessly improved.

It must be clear to all of us, beginning from the Central Committee of the Party and the Government, that it will not be easy to carry out the tasks that lie ahead of us. Changes are always difficult. Many factors of tradition, culture and material conditions are involved here. Let us take the question of competences. We all agree that the role and initiative of the masses cannot be enhanced without giving up the excessive concentration of competences in the central organs or executive committees. But bureaucracy and routine are not eliminated easily. In order to give something up you have to learn to do something different, something more qualified. To go on working in the way you have done for decades is easier than to master a new way of running things.

Some officials, accustomed to usurping the rights of others and to securing authority through personal orders and decisions ask the question: «What are we going to keep ourselves busy with now?» These comrades forget that the task of the central organs or the executive committees is not to share out the funds or the material base, but to engage seriously



and competently in working out policies for development in the respective fields, to develop the strategy for technical and technological progress, to conduct studies and make valuable generalizations from the practice, from their contacts with and check-up on the enterprises of their system. In today's conditions a re-division of duties and functions on a scientific basis has become possible in the whole pyramid of the apparatus of management.

The 9th Plenum of the Central Committee of the Party demanded a new regulation of social and economic life based on one discipline, on unified norms and laws which recognise no exceptions. The masses have been encouraged to place under their control every action which is carried out. But the road we must travel to achieve the objectives we have set is long. It will run into resistance both from elements who do not understand development and from elements who try to damage socialism. It must not be forgotten that the class struggle is waged in this field, too.

Thus, the implementation of the decision on the election of cadres, directors and leaders of various institutions directly by the collective seems a simple thing.

Nevertheless, the application of the line of the masses has caused problems for some organs of the Party, the State and the economy. As a consequence, procedural actions which artificially hinder the application of the people's will are carried out, pressures are exerted on the collectives to elect the former chief, in some places the voting is conducted openly with the aim of gaining approval for the one favoured by the presidium of the meeting, in other places trouble-makers and lazy people take advantage of the democratic right of elections from below in order to discredit those cadres who demand accounting and discipline, etc. This is another difficulty which has to be overcome patiently, through persistent educational work, but also through the establishment of clear and accurate rules.

The whole course of the work which is carried out for the implementation of the decisions of the 9th Plenum of the Party must be followed carefully. If the collectives in Tropoja or some other district reject certain recommendations of the responsible organs for elections to leading positions this must cause concern in the Party Committee and the executive committee of the district so that



they acquaint themselves with the situation better and renew their contacts with the people. If it is said that the Party Committee in the district of Berat is capable of performing its tasks even with half its personnel, it is time to take action. If, finally, throughout the whole country unification of requirements of each job has been discussed and the necessary criteria have been re-defined, this discussion must be extended to the central organs, too, including the apparatus of the Central Committee.

We must bear in mind that the forums are elected and renewed periodically according to the Constitution and inner rules of the Party, while the apparatuses remain unchanged. Even after the 9th Plenum, in many directions the apparatuses in the centre and the districts continue almost as before to demand from the others, while it is elementary that in order to carry out the decisions we must «Begin from ourselves». The requirements for instructors must be adapted to the time.

The decisions of the 9th Plenum put forward the task of raising the educational and convincing work of the Party and the organizations of the masses to a higher level. **All the oral and written**

**propaganda must respond to the requirements of the time. It must reject clichés and slogans, make greater use of argument and cope patiently and with culture with the questions and problems which emerge.** The Party and the organizations of the masses must make things clear to the people and must counter every influence of the hostile propaganda which is conducted against our country and socialism.

It is necessary to work tirelessly to strengthen our tested weapon, the unity of the people round the Party. Work must be done with the workers and peasants, with the intelligentsia and especially with the youth who are the future of the Homeland. Work must be done to safeguard and develop the human values which socialism has created such as love for the Homeland and its freedom, honesty and moral purity, revolutionary and progressive spirit.

It is never unnecessary to explain to the masses that not long but only 45 years ago, about 85 per cent of the population was illiterate, while today 75 per cent of the youth attend secondary schools. It must not be forgotten that in 1945 the average life expectancy of the Albanian was 38 years. Now it is more



than 70 years. Only 25 years ago, the Albanian women and girls were considered second-class creatures. Now more than 60 per cent of the teachers and doctors are women and girls. In Albania there is no unemployment, no traffic in drugs or terrorism, no social inequality or national persecution. The country is developing and advancing without enslaving debts and chains. The people are free and sovereign in their own Homeland. No temporary difficulties or shortages can overshadow these victories of the people in socialism.

**The great economic, political and social changes which have brought our country from the feudal stage to the modern life could not have been achieved in any other social order apart from socialist society, in which the people and the state are closely linked with one another.** These achievements could not have become a reality if life in Albania had not been free and democratic and the rights and duties of the citizens not harmonized with those of the whole society.

Our successes in all fields are linked with the role of the Party and the name of Enver Hoxha, who with wisdom and determination led the Albanian people from victory to victory. For this the peo-

ple love the Party and are linked with it like flesh to bone, for this reason the people and the Party respect Enver Hoxha and follow his teachings consistently.

The 10th Plenum of the Central Committee is a deepening of the work that we did at the 9th Plenum. The main objective of today's meeting was to discuss measures for the improvement of the mechanism of the economy. The essence of these measures, as Comrade Adil pointed out very well in the report he delivered, is the strengthening of the efficiency of the economy, the creation of conditions for self-financing of the enterprises, for the participation of their working people in the distribution of the profits which they create in excess of the plan, for the establishment of relationships, which the time requires, between centralism and the competences of the base during the drafting and the carrying out of plans, for increasing the role of economic and market methods, bringing the prices closer to values. The aim is to provide new socialist solutions to these fundamental problems and to apply the criteria required



by an intensive economy with dynamic development. What production needs are long-term solutions which open the way to real competences and initiatives for all, and not rules and mechanical actions which are only a partial refurbishing. The present mechanism of the economy will require the further enhancing of the role of science in working out policies of development.

The improvements which have been discussed and approved at this Plenum are a logical consequence of the objective conditions created. We make changes on a wide front because the economic situation of the country has evolved, people's ideo-cultural level has been raised, a wealth of experience has been accumulated, and the links between economic subjects are stable. The Party is encouraging and guiding these changes in order to open up new prospects of development, to put the economic and financial system in the service of technical progress, to subject it to more rational structures of production in order to utilize our natural assets more rapidly and raise the well-being of the people. The mobilizing force of the plan must be strengthened everywhere with economic incentives and interests.

The changes which the Party has inspired in the field of relations of production and which we are sanctioning at this Plenum of the Central Committee are a valuable contribution to the science of the political economy of socialism. The theoretical economic concepts must be developed and enriched together with the transformations which occur in the economy. They assume a new content especially in this stage of intensive development. **It can be said quite correctly that, just as socialism is a long process of development, its economic theory likewise is continuously being perfected.** It must always open the way to the activization with higher socio-economic fruitfulness of all resources of development which the country possesses.

The measures which we discussed will be accompanied with new norms of moral and economic education, with a different psychology and a more active stand towards work and the social property. All these things require a change of aims in the front of education so that its work is coordinated with the operation of the economic mechanism. This must begin from the school textbooks, the press and propaganda and the educational work of the Party. Thus, the importance



of education in the life of society is not diminished but increased.

The economic levers and methods encourage the thinking, interest and responsibility of each worker and specialist and every economic organization. In the conditions when the needs for extended reproduction will be financed from the source of the enterprise and with credits, when a part of the income of workers and managers will be conditional on and determined by the level of the realization of the net income in the work centre, when their obligations in kind towards the central organs for production will be mainly for supplies outside the district and for export, the management of the enterprise with its own accounting assumes real importance. In these conditions, each worker or cadre is directly interested in having his say for the smooth running of work in the enterprise and demanding a reckoning for the best possible organization of production, for the application of the most advanced technology, for discipline from the workers, the frugal administration of values, the saving of raw materials and having the management run by the smallest number of capable people. **Thus, the revolutionizing measures for the extension of socialist de-**

mocracy will not remain general principles, but will be linked with the material interests of the working people, because they have the right to receive bonuses amounting to three months' extra pay a year from the profits in excess of the plan which the enterprise secures. As a consequence the workers' control assumes more real force and fresh impulses are given to production, and the education and training of people.

In the final analysis, the economic, and also the social usefulness, of the programme which we are undertaking will be determined by the degree to which it needs to increase productivity and the savings. In other words, the increase of the effectiveness of expenditure, of social labour and capital investments is decisive everywhere. At present the central organs are mainly engaged in these questions, but they cannot cope with them, because they do not have the possibilities. On the other hand, the managers of enterprises are more interested in the overall volume of production and in new investments, leaving the questions of quality, range of products, and financial income to others. With the new economic mechanism we must overcome this contradiction by shifting the interests, deci-



sions and responsibilities on many matters to the base.

The material-technical base which we have set up, the sources of labour which are increasing normally, the favourable climatic conditions and the natural assets we must activate with the maximum fruitfulness. This is the immediate and strategic interest of our whole society. All the levers and links of our economic mechanism must serve this objective; this capital issue requires the qualitative improvement of the work of the organs of the Party and its levers.

When we speak about effectiveness we have in mind the normal fulfilment of the needs of the people and the economy and the improvement of the living conditions. These lofty aims are achieved through the increase of incomes, through producing the necessary products in quantity, quality and on time. These matters must proceed in unity, and one-sidedness must not be permitted in practice.

Each interest must have its economic expression. The enterprise must have separate interests for the fulfilment of the targets of the plan, for the deliveries of products, for its financial obligation towards the State and for its own income.

Likewise, the worker must feel in his remuneration that the fulfilment or the overfulfilment of the plan, or the non-fulfilment of it influence his pay in the way which is different from the previous one.

In improving the levers of the economic mechanism, we proceed from real possibilities and clear aims, but experience shows that no measure which is applied in life can be immunized from negative consequences. Every improvement in economic relations is realized through the activity of persons and comes as a result of their interests. We should encourage and support the economic interests of the people in work and creation, but it must be borne in mind that in life actions from the positions of narrow personal or group interests to the detriment of society may be encountered, and these must be prevented or restricted. Petty-bourgeois indifference or generosity are harmful phenomena, but they can become dangerous in conditions of the increased competences of the base and extension of the sphere of the use of economic levers. On the other hand, the decisive condition for achieving the results we expect is the strengthening of discipline at work by the workers and



the technical-engineering personnel. The establishment of rigorous rules and norms must put an end to liberalism and indiscipline. Now the workers themselves are more interested in the application of rule and discipline, because the income of each of them is dependent on the common work.

Through the economic and financial operations which we are undertaking possibilities are created to achieve a more complete correlation between the material and financial aspects, in the whole cycle of reproduction. This will be achieved especially through adjustments to the wholesale prices paid for the purchasing of agricultural and livestock products, and wholesale prices for the means of production; as well as through the self-financing of the enterprises and the linking of the remuneration of the workers with the final result of the smallest unit which works on its own account. In this way we achieve what you might call a re-valuation of the economic role of branches of production, and the contribution which the workers themselves make to the socialist construction. This will stimulate their efforts for economic efficiency, for technical progress, and for advantageous economic exchanges with the world.

As a result of the improvement of the mechanism of the economy, conditions are created to support certain re-orientations in the proportions and priorities in the use of resources of society, in conformity with the prospects of intensive development of production and the need to achieve some rapid qualitative changes in the people's consumption.

The interventions in this field should have been more profound, but in the conditions of keeping the retail prices for prime necessity goods unaltered, the further advance would have been accompanied with the increase of budget subsidies in administrative ways. The main thing is that, in accord with the instructions of the 9th Plenum of the Central Committee of the Party, the sphere of action of non-economic factors in the formation of prices must be narrowed, and the possibilities restricted for non-productive expenditure beyond the limit which productivity of social labour permits. The further reduction of re-distribution between branches of production remains a long-term task which we must accomplish gradually along with the development of the economy and the raising of the well-being of the people.



The studies on which the decisions which we are making are based should be appreciated also from another aspect: they encourage economic and social thinking for analogous improvements and actions even in fields outside their object. In this context, observations and analyses have been made by specialists, a series of concrete proposals have been presented, and some further adjustments to the personal plot and the collective garden have been made.

Proceeding from the facts to date, we can claim that the objectives of the 9th Congress of the Party for supplies of food, especially livestock products, for the people will all be achieved. **However, whereas four years ago we spoke about the supplies for the people as one of the priorities of the 8th Five-year Plan, today it has become the priority of the priorities.** The objectives of the long-term programme of the Party for food production must be advanced, of course, this will have to be accompanied with the necessary changes in the field of organization. The aim is that we must turn that resource which

we have least exploited, living labour, into food product.

As is known, through the collectivization of livestock, as a result of the hasty implementation of Party directives, instead of gaining the superiorities of concentrated production, as was intended, in fact, the number of people engaged in livestock-farming was reduced enormously and production fell to minimum level. Whereas tens of thousands of people contributed to livestock-farming each day previously, after collectivization this number was reduced to 3-4 thousand people. Apart from this, in all districts many head of livestock were slaughtered, and there was inexcusable carelessness in regard to ensuring the fodder base and zoo-veterinary treatment of the livestock.

Some of the shortcomings were corrected through the setting up of small herds. The number of people employed in the livestock-farming has grown 5-6 fold and herds and flocks have increased. Ten years after the collectivization of the livestock was stopped, we have achieved the number of head that we had on the eve of the 1980s, while milk production has been increased not just by tens of thousands but hundreds of thousands of tons, etc.



The small herds, as a new form of organization, have demonstrated their superiority especially in the lowland zone. Wherever the proper care has been shown, the villagers have been supplied better by means of the small herds. However, it must be said that they were not supported with the necessary material base. There was much hesitation, especially from the cadres and officials, over the development of them. At present small herds have one third of the country's livestock and, despite the Party's insistence, they have at their disposal only 20 000 hectares of land, while the centralized herds have more than 120 000 hectares. Neither the number of head, the breeds, nor the age of the cows have the level required to respond to the increasing tasks for supplying the people. Consequently, from the small herds alone, especially in the hilly and mountainous zones, it would take a very long time to achieve the levels of supplies which we expect.

To solve the question of supplies, which is the Party's main concern for fulfilling the people's needs, the decision which we took at this Plenum with regard to the personal plot has great importance. **Let the cooperativist peasantry**

**consider and decide for themselves on a village basis how the problem of supplies for the peasantry can best be solved.** Wherever they consider that the collective garden, that is, the small herd and plot, should be retained, let them proceed on this course. Especially in the lowland zones of priority intensification, this could be the most advisable course. In this case, however, measures must be taken to strengthen the small herds. If the peasantry considers that the keeping of a cow or some sheep or goats in their personal plot is more effective, the agricultural cooperatives should decide this themselves, according to the desires of their members. In this case, livestock from the small herds could be given to the cooperativists in return for payment, or could be bought from the peasants who have not carried out the collectivization of their livestock to date. In regard to the state farms, there their supplies of livestock products will be ensured, as up till now, solely through the small herds.

Whatever the peasantry decides, the Party committees, the executive committees, and the management committees of the agricultural cooperatives must not proceed with the idea that now they have less to do, that they are «freed» from the



problem of supplying the people with livestock products. No. On the contrary, they must do a great deal of organization and education work, so that production is effectively increased both for the peasantry and for the city. Many tasks emerge for the state organs, especially in the establishment of rules and norms for the peasant market, and for commitments towards the state.

At this Plenum of the Central Committee we also discussed measures in the field of justice, amendments which must be made to the Penal Code, etc. As we said at the 9th Plenum, too, these changes are demands of the time. **The more our socialist social order grows stronger, the more the unity of the people is strengthened, the higher the civic consciousness and culture of the masses is raised, the more our socialist legislation must be democratized.**

I want to stress that with the proposals which have been made, our struggle for the defence of the people's power and socialist order is not weakened. On the contrary, against various enemies and

evil-doers, against those who dare raise their hand against the people's power, against the socialist property and the property of the citizens, against those who break the rules and norms of socialist life, our laws, our State will be stern and determined to strike them hard at any time. For the working masses, for the people who have dedicated their work to the advance and the prosperity of the Homeland, our laws will be a reliable protection in the future, as they have been up till now.

The changes which are made in the Penal Code put the protection of the interests of the state and society in a more correct relationship with the protection of the interests of the individual citizens. This is realized not by means of declarations, but by setting up the respective institutions, such as the creation of the Ministry of Justice, the creation of the institution of rehabilitation, of the advocate service, etc., or by amending some clauses of the Penal Code which time has shown are unnecessary. Comrade Manush Myftiu explained these changes. Soon, together with the questions which have to do with the improvement of the economic mechanism, they will be presented to the People's Assembly for discussion and



final decision. In regard to measures in connection with the election to the organs of state power, about which we spoke at the 9th Plenum, they are in the course of preparation, and will be presented to the People's Assembly at another session.

The undertaking of the programme which we are approving in the field of relations of production and the measures for the strengthening of the legislation express the strength of our Party of Labour and respond to the level of development of the country. Our society has all the possibilities to progress. We shall apply these possibilities in the economy and other fields of social life and turn them into new achievements, with the united strength of the people, in the interests of the people and the socialist construction.

It is the duty of the organizations of the Party, the organs of state power and all the organizations of the masses to raise their work to a new, higher level which responds to the requirements of the time. As I said earlier, the changes which we are making will not come about by themselves. They require more qualified work

in all directions. The new tasks will not be accomplished with outdated methods and mentalities.

Above all, it is essential that these decisions are explained to the masses, the workers and the peasants, the intelligentsia and the youth. Everyone must understand that the correct implementation of them will bring about the strengthening of socialism, the strengthening of the economy and improvement in the life of the people. And this is achieved with work, with much work, with mobilization and militancy.

We heard the report of Comrade Hekuran Isai on the accomplishment of the tasks of the 9th Plenum and the fulfilment of the State plan. The over-all results of the first three months in general are good. Mainly for objective reasons, however, the plan was not fulfilled in several branches. The severe drought has had a grave influence, especially in the generation of electric power. It not only made it impossible to achieve our export targets, but obliged the Government to close some plants, such as the ferro-chrome plant, etc., and to import electric power to meet the needs of the economy. Difficulties have increased also as a result of the changes and disorders which



have occurred in the countries of Eastern Europe, in general, and the new political and economic restructuring of Europe.

In these conditions **the militant and patriotic spirit of citizens and communists in our country must be raised high. The communists and all the workers must throw themselves into the struggle to accomplish the targets of the plan everywhere, to discover new reserves and develop the spirit of initiative. Every worker, peasant and intellectual must understand that today, more than ever, the Homeland requires the maximum contribution from everyone, requires effective work and revolutionary attitude to duty.**

Comrades,

The aim of the struggle of our people and Party has been and is to build a just and free society, in which there are neither exploiters nor exploited, in which each person is valued and rewarded according to the work he does and the role he plays in the progress of society, and in which the material and cultural well-being of the people is improved from

day to day. We have fought and are fighting for a socialist society in a free, independent and sovereign Albania. This society, for the construction of which our people have combined their energies for five decades, this society, the foundations of which were set on with the blood of 28 000 martyrs and which we built with sweat, sacrifice, and all-round struggle against poverty, against backwardness, against numerous enemies and saboteurs, we must ceaselessly strengthen and raise to new heights. This is our duty, and no one can fulfil this duty other than our people, the people's power and our Party.

I emphasize this question because now, following the upheavals which have occurred in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union, reaction and the international bourgeoisie are trying to impose their norms on the peoples as absolute truths, to proclaim their social order and their way of life as universal, and to interfere in the internal affairs of others, in order to dictate how and what should be done. For this purpose, they are employing political pressure and economic blockades, are setting their agents in movement, and spreading all kinds of slanders through the means of public information. Those



who talk about democracy and pluralism of ideas are exerting a kind of political «terrorism» against Marxism-Leninism.

Savage propaganda campaigns are organized time after time against our country and our Party, too. The Yugoslavs are the banner-bearers, but Greek reaction and others are not lagging behind, either. They are singing a descant for one another and spreading the most fantastic tales. According to them in Albania there is terror, people are killed in the streets, mass arrests are made, etc., etc.

The Yugoslavs would like disturbances to occur in Albania, because they want to divert the attention of international opinion from their internal crises, and especially from the acts of violence and killings which they are perpetrating in Kosova. Others, who in most cases know nothing about the history, culture and course of development of Albania, make analogies with the countries of Eastern Europe and have invented the «domino theory». They expect sensations.

We have pointed out previously, too, that **nothing similar to what has happened in the Eastern countries will occur in Albania. The Albanian people have shed their blood for freedom and inde-**

**pendence. Therefore, they will not allow anybody to become masters over them, will never allow the beys, the aghas, or other wealthy classes to seize the power, the land and the factories from them and to suck their blood.** Therefore, anyone, whether the external enemies or the internal enemies, or the dregs of our society, who dares to lay a finger on the freedom of the Homeland, on the people's state power and socialism will find himself confronting a people united firmly around the Party of Labour, a people determined to defend the victories achieved even with their life.

Our society is not a copy of any other country; our revolution is not imported or imposed from outside. It is inspired by Marxism-Leninism, but it has developed and is developing on our own national soil, and follows the outstanding traditions of the Albanian progressive and liberation movement. This constitutes a basic component of our revolution. Whoever does not understand this cannot properly understand or explain the history of the new Albania, or the original road it has followed.

It is true that in the socialist construction we have tried to benefit from the experience of the others. Nevertheless,



we have never danced to a foreign tune, and have applied nothing mechanically, without passing it through the Albanian filter.

Our Party has always acted courageously and in a dialectical way. It has never been afraid to look the reality into the eye, to make serious analyses of the successes and the shortcomings, the good things and the bad. From these it has drawn conclusions about what must be done to carry socialism forward, and what must be done to avoid endangering the present and the future of our people and the Homeland. This is what we did at the 9th Plenum of the Central Committee, and this is what we are doing at today's meeting. But neither now nor in the past are we imitating. We do not proceed and will not proceed on the course, or according to the desires of anyone else.

In the field of relations with the external world, too, the Party and our State must operate, as always, in conformity with the changes which are occurring in the international arena, but always bearing in mind the interests of the people and socialism, of our freedom, national independence and sovereignty, and the cause of peace and security.

At the 8th and 9th Plenums we spoke

about the changes which have occurred in the Soviet Union and the countries of Eastern Europe. Those countries have now formally rejected socialism as an ideology and a practice, just as they have negated everything which was connected with the revolution and the struggle of the working class. That is their affair.

However, the events in the countries of Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union, which aroused great euphoria in East and West, have not justified the hopes of those who took power there and those who supported them. It was said that everything would go well, but disillusionment and problems soon began.

The economic situation in Rumania, Poland, the GDR, Hungary, and Bulgaria has degenerated. Because of strikes and repeated economic and social organizations and re-organizations, the level of production has fallen below what it was previously. In the Soviet Union the economic situation and the standard of living are worse than they were five years ago when perestroika was announced. In all the Eastern countries the working masses are worried because, with the introduction of new economic rules imposed by international capital, those social gains which they had inherited such as guar-



anteed jobs, housing, pensions, etc., have been placed in jeopardy.

In no country of Eastern Europe is there political stability. Under the slogan of pluralism, various political parties, groups and associations have been created, are competing with one another, and thinking only of winning votes and occupying positions of power. In Rumania some parties are demanding that the cultivated land and that occupied with buildings should be returned to the former owners; in Poland and Hungary factories and plants which were previously state-owned are being privatized. In this climate, even fascist organizations have begun to appear, while nationalist trends and feuds on this basis have come to the fore. In the Soviet Union the matters have gone as far as armed clashes, in which Armenians, Azeris, Tadjiks and Uzbeks have been killed. Meanwhile, Lithuania, Estonia, Latvia and Georgia are officially demanding secession from the Soviet Union. Recently, the old feuds between Rumania and Hungary have broken out again.

The events in the East have created problems on a European scale, too, because they have upset the balances and affected the existing alliances. The prob-

lem of the unification of the two Germanies has emerged, which is undoubtedly a right which belongs to the German nation. However, this question has aroused concern in many countries and has brought to light old alliances and enmities.

However, it is not only the German problem which dominates the European scene. Equally important is the problem of military blocs, NATO and the Warsaw Treaty, and the European security in general. The USA and USSR are trying to give events a direction which they desire, while each has its own interests. Now, however, even for them it has become difficult «to get the jinn back into the bottle».

**The situation created is completely new, and is characterized by a general offensive of the international bourgeoisie and opportunist forces against socialist and communist values, against the practice of socialist construction, and the internationalist unity of the workers. This is the most aggressive and most dangerous attack which has been undertaken against the revolution hitherto.**

It is beyond any doubt that the socialist alternative for the regulation of human society cannot be quelled, that as



long as there are exploiters and exploited, there will also be struggle for the resolution of this contradiction. But the historic perspective is one thing, and the actuality something else. And this actuality is fraught with many concrete dangers and threats, with struggles that must be waged and coped with today, and not in the future.

We must examine the whole complex of foreign relations. Now that the political balance in Europe has been upset we have to think hard: how should we manoeuvre on the world scene to safeguard the interests of the Homeland?

In this situation two courses can be envisaged for foreign relations: the first course would be to close ourselves in our own shell, restrict contacts, go over to ideological, political and cultural defensive, but this has not been and cannot be our line, our policy. Our Party has never chosen isolation. Only those who have tried to harm Albania have wanted to isolate it, just as they have used economic blockades for such a purpose.

The second course is that of dialogue and the acceptance of open diplomatic struggle. But what does it mean to wage open diplomatic struggle? This means to go and wage this struggle where it is taking

place, and means also that you must accept the rules by which it is played.

The idea exists that diplomatic struggle means newspaper articles, government and public declarations, in one word, the propaganda struggle. This idea is not only wrong, but extremely naive.

Diplomatic struggle means contacts, talks, agreements, compromises, refusals and approvals, always guided by the national interests and the national criterion.

What does our history teach us about this?

From the time the movement for secession from the Ottoman Empire began until to this day the Albanians have fought on two fronts: on the front of the armed struggle and on the diplomatic front.

The League of Prizren, the uprisings of the years 1910-1912, and the National Liberation War are the best examples. The fundamental thing has been that from the external aspect the Albanians have avoided placing themselves on the losing side.

The red thread that runs through all the Albanians' liberation movements is that clear and accurate definition of the national political philosophy which has not altered in all the epochs, in all the changes, and in all the storms.



Unlike the dominant philosophies in the world, not only previously but now, too, our national ideal has been a democratic ideal, because the Albanians have not aspired to extend themselves to foreign territories, have had no pretensions to any kind of political, economic or cultural expansion. The fundamental aspiration of the Albanian people has been to have a free, independent and sovereign state. They have not demanded more.

Their political thinking in the internal life has been democratic, too. Perhaps this has come about because they have been a peasant people, always tending to equality, justice, tolerance, collectivism, mutual aid, spiritual nobility, and so on, or because they have suffered long national and economic oppression. They did not manage to create a real consolidated bourgeoisie, which might have exerted an influence also through its ideologies.

On the basis of this national ideal and this democratic spirit, it became possible to create a sound political unity on the fundamental issue, that of safeguarding the independence of the country and its state throughout all periods of modern history.

Of course, there have always been periods and moments of unclarity, but

revival has occurred from this unextinguishable source of inspiration. Just as the national criterion has been a guide for international relations, it has also been decisive for the whole spiritual world of Albanians.

At the critical moments in Albania the people have been evaluated not from their class or religious allegiance, from the government hierarchy, their level of schooling, etc., but from their political stand towards the independence, freedom and sovereignty of the country. On the other hand, since Albania is a small country, it could not have importance and play any decisive role in world affairs except, of course, through the importance and role which derived from its geo-strategic position. This weak aspect: the small population, the small territory and the lack of economic weight, it has tried to compensate for through diplomatic manoeuvres, through the exploitation of contradictions among enemies to defend its own interests.

If we looked more deeply into the activity of Abdyl Frashëri, Ismail Qemali and Enver Hoxha, if we examined the power of these three great men whom Albania has brought forth at key moments of history, we would not be exag-



gerating if we said that they were masters of diplomatic tactics. Our Party, which since its founding has been a resolute fighter for freedom and national independence, must follow these outstanding traditions unwaveringly.

Proceeding on this course, the new Albania has always been realistic in its foreign policy; it has conducted its international activity, bearing in mind the lofty interests of the Homeland and the contribution it can give to the strengthening of general peace and security.

The policy of our Party and State has never been that of a passive onlooker, and it could not be so. World events have had and have close interconnection with one another, and no one can stand aloof from them. The problem which presents itself is how to avoid the negative influences of these events and how to benefit from the positive ones. Of course, neither the harm nor the benefits come of themselves, nor do they have a constant weight. Since they take place at a given time and place, it depends on our reaction and activity in time and space what effect they will exert upon us.

For example, let us take Europe and the recent events there. On this continent to which we belong, too, as we said earlier,

great changes are occurring and these have led to what we might call a total reshuffling of the cards. New political, economic, security and other problems have emerged which impose a new consideration and treatment of them. We would not be dialectical if we were to think that they can be understood and coped with through the formulas and means of struggle used up till now. The important thing is to stick to our principles and be guided by them. But on this question, too, we must clearly distinguish what is fundamental and what is non-fundamental, what is primary and what is secondary, what is permanent and what is temporary. **What we must guard against is considering tactical activities as strategic activities, and vice versa.**

Right from the outset Albania has consistently opposed the division of Europe into blocs, opposed the spheres of influence and opposed the limitation of the sovereignty of its nations. We have opposed all those policies which in our opinion gave rise to and increased the tensions and conflicts on this continent, all those measures and actions which directly or indirectly infringed the freedom and independence of European countries and their right to decide their own fate.



Our view has been that European security could not be achieved through the armament race, through the confrontation of military blocs, political discrimination and ideological diversion, various blockades, or the endless arsenal of the cold war.

We have always wanted and desire that the European countries should settle the conflicts and tensions not by means of force or the threat of its use, but by means of dialogue, reason and understanding, on the basis of full reciprocal respect in order to establish a truly peaceful coexistence.

Efforts can be seen in Europe at present to find ways and means to reduce tensions. This is connected with the situations created, but it also coincides with our aims. At the 9th Plenum we reached the conclusion that in these conditions certain initiatives which have been undertaken by the European states, including those for multilateral meetings, should be taken into consideration on our part. Thus, now Albania's joining in the process of European cooperation and security and its participation in the meetings which are planned for this purpose is timely and responds to our interests. This will be another proof not only of Albania's in-

terest in the security of our continent, but also of its desire to make its own contribution to strengthening this security.

In carrying out the decisions of the 9th Plenum our State organs must also take action in the direction of the European Common Market. There has been created in Western Europe a community of States in which not only the economy but also many sectors of internal and foreign policy are being unified. The European Community already represents a reality recognised world-wide. The establishment of diplomatic links and contacts with it will serve our political and economic interests, and so will the increased cooperation with individual members of this community, which has already become a useful practice.

Although of another nature and very complex, bearing in mind the developments which have taken place, the problem of re-establishment of diplomatic relations with the United States and the Soviet Union has also emerged on the agenda. I want to point out that Albania has never had a phobia against the great powers. What it has not tolerated and does not accept are the aims to impose policies which run counter to its freedom and independence and its own will.



As you know, after the liberation of the country, the Albanian Government made great efforts to establish friendly relations with the USA, relations which had existed before the war and which had been confirmed during it. Regrettably, from the liberation of the country on the United States made recognition of the new Albanian Government conditional on changing the social system which had emerged from our people's revolution. For a long period the USA also opposed the admission of Albania to the UNO and did everything in its power to isolate Albania internationally. These actions, not to mention the others, created a great gulf between the two countries, which remains open to this day.

Likewise, it was the Soviet Union which unilaterally broke off diplomatic relations along with all its economic and other ties with Albania. And the main reason was that Albania did not accept its hegemony, refused to become a simple executor of its foreign policy, and to conform and submit to its demands. The severing of political and economic relations, extending the ideological differences to the relations between States was an act of vengeance intended to damage the PSR of Albania.

For the establishment of relations with other states we have not set political conditions, but neither have we accepted any. The only thing which we have demanded, and this is a legitimate issue, is that they accept Albania as it is. And we have accepted and accept the others as they are. The choice of social systems is a sovereign issue of each people and nobody has the right to meddle with it.

If the United States of America and the Soviet Union are really going to change their stand towards Albania, as they say, we have no reason not to welcome this. We have never wanted to be in enmity with anybody. On the contrary, as we pointed out at the 9th Plenum, we respond to friendship with friendship, just as we take no step back when anyone behaves towards us with arrogance, underestimation, or despotism. Relations between States are normal and fruitful when the basic principles of equality, non-interference, respect for the freedom, independence and sovereignty, and cooperation with mutual interest are respected. This is valid also for Britain which, although so many things have changed in Europe, continues to stick stubbornly to the outdated mentality of the 1940s and keeps the Albanian monetary gold frozen.



The time has come to abandon that position.

We have always wanted friendly relations with all countries irrespective of their social system. We devote special attention to relations with the neighbouring countries. In this context we have always wanted to have good relations with Yugoslavia because we are neighbours and, as such, we have many interests in common. Neither we nor they can leave the Balkan Peninsula where the Albanians and the southern Slavs have lived for centuries. History has compelled us to coexist. But how should we coexist? The Albanians on this side and that side of the border have shown that they desire to live as friends and not as enemies. The feuds and conflicts have not brought any benefit to either side.

Unfortunately, the Yugoslavs have responded to the hand of friendship extended by the Albanians with a clenched fist. Belgrade has pursued an anti-Albanian policy inspired by archaic concepts and ideologies, by the nostalgia of feudal romanticism and imperial euphoria.

This policy has led to a stern conflict with the Albanians of Kosova and to a national crisis all over Yugoslavia. A con-

sequence of this policy is the abnormal state of Albanian-Yugoslav relations.

But this policy has failed. It has failed because the time is gone when internal crises can be solved by means of violence or through the creation of artificial conflicts with the neighbours.

**The problem of Kosova, like other problems of Yugoslavia, results from the conflict between demands for freedom, democracy and progress, on the one hand, and attempts at domination, arbitrary acts, oppression and violence, on the other.**

This dividing line now runs all through Yugoslavia. On one side stand the leaders of Serbia and on the other the peoples of Yugoslavia among whom, as we read and hear, the conviction is growing stronger that the problems of Kosova and Yugoslavia can be solved only in democratic ways, by means of dialogue, equality and respect for the rights and interests of all parties.

The time has come when even in Belgrade they must understand that problems cannot be solved through violence and eliminating the autonomy of Kosova. The people of Kosova have already chosen their representatives, gathered in the de-



mocratic alternatives, with whom talks can be held and problems solved, but of course, with equality, openly, without prejudice and with understanding.

As regards the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, it has frequently made it clear that it is ready to talk with Yugoslavia about the complete normalization of relations between the two countries, as well as about other problems which might be of interest to both sides, proceeding from the interests of good neighbourliness, security in the region and general peace.

Our country gives great importance to the process of cooperation between Balkan states, which exerts an influence to ensure peace not only on our peninsula but also more widely. This year the meeting of the foreign ministers of the Balkan countries will be held in Tirana. We will do everything possible to ensure that this meeting turns out a success and marks a turning point in the strengthening of good neighbourliness and fraternal relations between our countries.

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Comrades,

The decisions of this Plenum have very great importance for the present and future of our country. They will certainly find the unanimous support of the entire people and of our glorious Party, just as they have done in our meeting. Let us devote all our strength, sparing nothing, to make our Homeland stronger and the life of our people better and happier, to keep high and carry forward the banner of Marxism-Leninism and socialism in free and independent Albania.